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FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FROM BRIZILL

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN), PFOR, IN

SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS SUMMARY - JULY 22, 1977

1. TRANSMITTED FOR YOUR INFORMATION IS DAILY SUMMARY OF
MAJOR NEWS STORIES AS REPORTED IN NATIONAL PRESS.

2. WASHINGTON POST, JULY 22, "CARTER SPEECH: SCOTCHING
RUMORS OF COLD WAR COMEBACK" BY MURRAY MARDER.

BEGIN QUOTE. PRESIDENT CARTER'S SIX-MONTH BALANCE SHEET
YESTERDAY ON STRAINED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION WAS
DESIGNED LARGELY TO ASSURE AMERICANS, SOME UNEASY ALLIES
AND HIGHLY SUSPICIOUS RUSSIANS THAT THERE IS NO DRIFT BACK
TOWARD 'THE COLD WAR.' THERE WAS A NOTABLE UNDERSTATE-
MENT BY THE PRESIDENT ON THIS UNDERLYING THEME. HE SAID:
'WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS TOWARD OUR GOALS. BUT, TO BE
FRANK, WE ALSO HEAR SOME NEGATIVE COMMENTS FROM THE SOVIET
SIDE ABOUT SALT (NUCLEAR STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS)
AND ABOUT OUR MORE GENERAL RELATIONS'. BY DIPLOMATIC
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 171613

MEASURE, THE 'NEGATIVE COMMENTS' HAVE BEEN A ROAR, NOT A
WHISPER. THERE IS A DAILY OUTPOURING OF CAUSTIC CRITICISM
FROM THE SOVIET UNION THAT SURPASSES ANYTHING HEARD SINCE
'DETENTE' WAS OFFICIALLY ENSHRINED AT THE 1972 MOSCOW SUM-
MIT CONFERENCE OF SOVIET LEADER BRE LEONID I. BREZHNEV
AND PRESIDENT NIXON. THIS CRITICISM HAS EXPANDED FROM THE
ORIGINAL ATTACKS ON THE CARTER HUMAN RIGHTS AND NUCLEAR
ARMS POLICIES TO WHOLESALE CHALLENGE IN THE SOVIET PRESS
AND RADIO BROADCASTS. CARTER ADMINISTRATION POLICY IS
NOW ASSAILED AS A RETURN TO 'THE METHODS OF THE COLD WAR'

IN AN ATTEMPT 'TO DERAIL DETENTE.' THE BASIC SOVIET CHARGE, ARTICULATED BY FRENCH PRESIDENT VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING IN A NEWSWEEK INTERVIEW AFTER HIS RECENT PARIS MEETING WITH BREZHNEV, IS: 'MR. BREZHNEV FEELS THAT SOME OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECISIONS HAVE BROKEN WHAT I WILL CALL THE CODE OF CONDUCT OF DETENTE.' ' . . . TOP ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS HAVE SAID THEY WERE TROUBLED BY WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER OPENLY EXPRESSED YESTERDAY: ARE SOVIET CRITICISMS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION POLICY 'BASED ON A MISCONCEPTION OF OUR MOTIVES,' OR ARE THEY 'DESIGNED AS PROPAGANDA TO PUT PRESSURE ON US . . . ? SOME ADMINISTRATION STRATEGISTS THINK THE ANSWER IS YES ON BOTH COUNTS. THEY BELIEVE THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS GENUINELY SUSPICIOUS OF THE CARTER POLICY WHICH IT REGARDS AS AN OVERALL CHALLENGE TO THE KREMLIN'S VITAL INTERESTS. ADDITIONALLY, MANY U.S. PLANNERS BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS TRYING TO REACH OVER CARTER'S HEAD TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND TO UNEASY ALLIES, TO PUT COUNTERPRESSURE ON THE WHITE HOUSE BY RAISING THE ALARM OF A RETURN TO COLD WAR CONFRONTATION. . . . END QUOTE.

3. WASHINGTON POST, JULY 22, "PRESIDENT SETS FORTH GOALS IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIETS" BY AUSTIN SCOTT.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 171613

BEGIN QUOTE. MAJOR THEMES WHICH THE PRESIDENT CHOSE TO DETAIL BEFORE THE 31ST ANNUAL SOUTHERN LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS IN CHARLESTON'S MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM INCLUDED: --'THE WHOLE HISTORY OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS TEACHES US THAT WE WILL BE MISLED IF WE BASE OUR LONG-RANGE POLICIES ON THE MOOD OF THE MOMENT, WHETHER THAT MOOD IS EUPHORIC OR GRIM . . . ON BALANCE, THE TREND IN THE LAST THIRD OF THE CENTURY HAS BEEN POSITIVE.' --'THE PROFOUND DIFFERENCES IN WHAT OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE ABOUT FREEDOM AND POWER AND THE INNER LIVES OF HUMAN BEINGS ARE LIKELY TO REMAIN, AND SO ARE OTHER ELEMENTS OF COMPETITION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION . . . BUT IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHARE MANY IMPORTANT, OVERLAPPING INTERESTS. OUR JOB IS TO EXPLORE THOSE INTERESTS AND USE THEM TO ENLARGE THE AREAS OF COOPERATION BETWEEN US . . . ' --A STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT ' . . . WHICH REFLECTS JUST THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR THAT CAN BE AGREED UPON WILL ONLY CREATE AN ILLUSION OF PROGRESS AND, EVENTUALLY, A BACKLASH AGAINST THE ENTIRE ARMS CONTROL PROCESS.' HE

SAID THERE HAVE BEEN 'SOME NEGATIVE COMMENTS FROM THE SOVIET SIDE ABOUT SALT AND ABOUT OUR MORE GENERAL RELATIONS.' PART OF THE SOVIET LEADERS' ATTITUDE, HE SAID, 'MAY BE DUE TO THEIR APPARENT--AND INCORRECT--BELIEF THAT OUR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS AIMED SPECIFICALLY AT THEM OR IS AN ATTACK ON THEIR VITAL INTERESTS. ' THERE ARE NO

HIDDEN MEANINGS IN OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS . . .
OUR POLICY IS EXACTLY WHAT IT APPEARS TO BE: THE POSITIVE
AND SINCERE EXPRESSION OF OUR DEEPEST BELIEFS AS A
PEOPLE.' . . . THIS THEME OF 'INTERDEPENDENCE' WAS ALSO
A MAJOR FEATURE OF HIS SPEECH. 'BOTH THE UNITED STATES
AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE LEARNED THAT OUR COUNTRIES AND
OUR PEOPLES, IN SPITE OF GREAT RESOURCES, ARE NOT ALL
POWERFUL . . . THIS WORLD, NO MATTER HOW TECHNOLOGY HAS
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 171613

SHRUNK ITS DISTANCES, IS NEVERTHELESS TOO LARGE AND TOO
VARIED TO COME UNDER THE SWAY OF EITHER ONE OR TWO SUPER-
POWERS.' END QUOTE.

4. WASHINGTON POST, JULY 22, EDITORIAL ENTITLED "A CODE
OF DETENTE?"

BEGIN QUOTE. IS THERE WHAT VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING CALLS,
IN A NEWSWEEK INTERVIEW, A 'CODE OF CONDUCT OF DETENTE,'
WHICH DICTATES NO INTERFERENCE IN ANOTHER STATE'S INTERNAL
AFFAIRS, AND A STRICTLY LIMITED APPROACH TO ARMS CONTROL?
THE FRENCH PRESIDENT THINKS SO. HE SAYS LEONID BREZHNEV
THINKS SO. HE SUGGESTS THAT THEY AGREE THAT JIMMY CARTER,
BY HIS HUMAN-RIGHTS AND ARMS-CONTROL POLICIES, HAS BROKEN
THE CODE AND THAT THIS IS WHAT'S UNDERMINING DETENTE... .
MR. BREZHNEV . . . PERCEIVES THE CARTER HUMAN-RIGHTS DRIVE
AS A 'MEANS OF PRESSURE TO GET THEM TO ABANDON THEIR
SYSTEM,' HIS FRENCH INTERLOCUTOR REPORTS. WELL, HE HAS A
POINT. MR. CARTER'S DENIAL, IN HIS CHARLESTON SPEECH YES-
TERDAY, THAT HIS RIGHTS CAMPAIGN 'ATTACKS THEIR (THE
SOVIETS') VITAL INTERESTS' MAY ACCURATELY REFLECT THE
PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL VIEWS. BUT TO ANYONE WHO KNOWS ANY-
THING ABOUT THE RUSSIANS, IT IS PERFECTLY OBVIOUS THAT A
CAMPAIGN REACHING OUT TO DISSIDENTS, RELIGIOUS COMMUNI-
TIES, WOULD-BE EMIGRANTS AND ETHNICS (THE SOVIET 'PEOPLES'
TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT MISCHIEVOUSLY REFERRED YESTERDAY)
IS BOUND TO BE TAKEN BY THE KREMLIN AS A PROVOCATION AND
A THREAT. THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER MR. CARTER HAS A
RIGHT TO APPLY SUCH IDEOLOGICAL PRESSURE, WHICH IS WHAT
IT IS; PLAINLY, HE DOES. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER HE IS
WISE TO DO SO, FOR THE RISK T IS THAT HE WILL THERE-
BY SPOIL THE KREMLIN'S POLITICAL CAPACITY FOR COOPERATION
IN OTHER FIELDS. NOTHING IN THE CHARLESTON SPEECH SUG-
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PAGE 05 STATE 171613

GESTED THAT MR. CARTER HAS YET LEARNED THIS LESSON. . . .
WE MAKE BOLD TO SAY THAT WE'RE COMING NEARER AN UNDER-

STANDING OF MR. CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY. WHEN HE DEALS
IN THE SOLID COIN OF ARMS AND OTHER MORE OR LESS TANGIBLE

CONSIDERATIONS, HE'S CAPABLE OF PERCEIVING THE UNITED STATES' INTEREST AND THE OTHER FELLOW'S INTEREST AND BALANCING THEM OFF. BUT WHEN HE ENTERS THE REALM OF IDEOLOGY--WE MIGHT EVEN SAY THEOLOGY--HE YIELDS UP SOME PART OF HIS JUDGMENT TO HIS PERSONAL MORALISM. WE DO NOT ARGUE FOR AN AMORAL POLICY. WE ARGUE FOR GOOD SENSE. THIS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH A 'CODE.' IT IS A MATTER OF DISCRETION IN ONE'S OWN INTEREST. END QUOTE.

5. NEW YORK TIMES, JULY 22, "ROAD TO GENEVA: BEGIN CHOOSES RISKY ROUTE" BY BERNARD GWERTZMAN.

BEGIN QUOTE. PRIME MINISTER MENAHEM BEGIN'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON OPENED ON A NOTE OF SUSPENSE THREE DAYS AGO AND ENDED TODAY ON ONE OF MYSTERY. THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER WOULD END UP IN A CONFRONTATION WITH PRESIDENT CARTER WAS DECISIVELY ANSWERED IN THE NEGATIVE; NOT ONLY WAS A CLASH AVOIDED BUT A STRIKING MEASURE OF CORDIALITY WAS RESTORED TO ISRAELI-AMERICAN RELATIONS. BUT THERE WAS UNCERTAINTY ON THE VITAL QUESTION OF WHETHER THE TWO-DAY MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS CONTRIBUTED TO THE GOAL OF A NEW GENEVA CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE. THE FACTS SEEM TO SUGGEST THAT THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS ARE AS FAR APART AS EVER AND THE CONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE AS COMPLICATED AS BEFORE. CERTAINLY MR. BEGIN, DESPITE HIS FERVENT CALLS FOR PEACE, AND HIS PUBLICLY EXPRESSED ENTHUSIASM FOR GENEVA, HAS NOT PROVIDED IN HIS PEACE PLAN ANY NEW WAY OF SOLVING THE PROBLEM. INDEED, HIS PUBLIC REJECTION OF TWO ARAB DEMANDS--FULL WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL THE LANDS OCCUPIED IN THE 1967 WAR AND PARTICI- UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 171613

PATION BY THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION AT A NEW GENEVA CONFERENCE--WHILE CONSISTENT WITH PREVIOUS ISRAELI POSITIONS, AND FAR FROM SURPRISING, WOULD APPEAR TO MAKE PROGRESS IN MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT. AND YET, PRESIDENT CARTER, WHO HAS BEEN DEEPLY INVOLVED PERSONALLY IN THE COMPLICATED DIPLOMATIC MANEUVERING, RISKED HIS OWN CREDIBILITY YESTERDAY BY STATING PUBLICLY THAT THE SESSIONS WITH MR. BEGIN COULD NOT HAVE BEEN BETTER AND THAT 'I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE LAID THE GROUNDWORK NOW, BARRING SOME UNFORESEEN DIFFICULTY, THAT WILL LEAD TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN OCTOBER.' DIPLOMATS, JOURNALISTS AND SOME ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS SPENT A GOOD DEAL OF TIME ON THE PHONE TODAY TRYING TO RECONCILE MR. BEGIN'S REMARKS WITH MR. CARTER'S OPTIMISTIC PREDICTION. . . . END QUOTE.

6. WASHINGTON POST, JULY 22, "ENVOY TO SALVADOR SAYS US DIDN'T BACK HUMAN RIGHTS" BY DAN MORGAN.

BEGIN QUOTE. THE FORMER AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO EL SALVADOR TESTIFIED YESTERDAY THAT THE EMBASSY GOT 'LITTLE TO NONE SUPPORT FROM WASHINGTON' IN DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES UNTIL 'WE WENT PUBLIC ON IT.' THE EMISSARY, IGNACIO E. LOZANO, JR., SERVED IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRY UNTIL JUNE 1, DURING A PERIOD IN WHICH TWO JESUIT PRIESTS WERE MURDERED, THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS KIDNAPED AND LATER ASSASSINATED, SECURITY FORCES WERE ACCUSED OF TORTURING AND KILLING PEASANTS, A JESUIT UNIVERSITY WAS REPEATEDLY BOMBED. LAZANO SAID THAT THE EMBASSY HAD . . . HAD DIFFICULTY 'GETTING WASHINGTON TO FOCUS' ON THE SITUATION. THE FORMER EMISSARY SAID HE WAS NOT IMPLYING THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS INSINCERE IN ITS HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN. 'BUT GIVEN THE FACT THAT IT'S SMALL
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PAGE 07 STATE 171613

AND THE U.S. HAS NO VITAL INTEREST (THERE), IT'S HARD TO GET PEOPLE TO PAY ATTENTION.' FRASER SHOT BACK THAT IT WAS 'NOT THE FIRST CASE OF A SMALL PLACE LOSING ITS STANDING WITH OUR GOVERNMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS.' THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN A NUMBER OF QUIET STEPS IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS TO PERSUADE THE ROMERO GOVERNMENT TO CRACK DOWN ON ABUSES. A SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL VISITED THERE LAST WEEK, AND THE UNITED STATES INDICATED IT WOULD NOT SUPPORT AN INTERNATIONAL LOAN TO THE COUNTRY FOR A POWER PROJECT. END QUOTE.

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